

Message Text

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PAGE 01 JAKART 00987 240752Z

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ACTION SS-25

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R 240345Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6261

INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION USUN NY

USLO PEKING

S E C R E T JAKARTA 0987

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (SUBJECT OMITTED)

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR ID VS

SUBJECT: INDONESIAN ICCS: ASSESSMENT

REF: STATE 11499 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: INDONESIANS HAVE, ONCE AGAIN, EXAMINED PARTICIPATION IN ICCS AND HAVE DECIDED TO STAY. LATEST REVIEW AND DECISION APPARENTLY OCCURED DURING TIMELY VISIT OF AMBASSADOR MARTIN. HOW LONG INDONESIANS WILL STAY AND WHETHER CURRENT STRENGTH ICCS CONTINGENT IS MAINTAINED WILL DEPEND IN PART ON WHETHER DEVELOPMENTS IN VIETNAM AND SUPPORT FROM US AS DISCUSSED THIS PAST WEEKEND CONTINUE TO BE POSITIVE.

2. WHILE PRESIDENT SUHARTO WAS OUT OF TOWN AND GENERAL PANGGABEAN UNAVAILABLE ON SHORT NOTICE GIVEN BY MALIK TO DEFENSE, AMBASSADOR MARTIN DURING VISIT JANUARY 18-21 SAW FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK AND KEY INDONESIAN MILITARY AND INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS REPOSNSIBLE FOR VIETNAM POLICY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 JAKART 00987 240752Z

DECISION REMAIN FOR PRESENT APPARENTLY MADE JANUARY 20,

FOLLOWING AMBASSADOR MARTIN'S MEETING WITH MALIK AND ASSOCIATES, ALTHOUGH GENERAL ADENAN OF DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TOLD AMBASSADOR NEWSOM LATER THEY MIGHT STILL WISH TO CUT SIZE OF CONTINGENT. BELIEVE WE CAN ANTICIPATE CONTINUING PERIODIC REVIEW ON THEIR PART OF BOTH SIZE AND DURATION OF INVOLVEMENT, ALTHOUGH IT IS CLEAR THEY FIND SUCH INVOLVEMENT IN THEIR OWN INTERESTS.

3. WE HAVE NO DOUBT INDONESIANS WERE SERIOUSLY RE-VIEWING OPTION OF WITHDRAWAL. REPORTS OF RECENT VISIT TO SAIGON BY GENERAL MURDANI, CHIEF ARMY INTELLIGENCE, AND MANILA MEETING OF CHIEFS OF MISSION SPOKE OF EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM REGARDING SOUTH VIETNAM STRENGTH AND TACTICS, DOUBT RE EFFECTIVENESS OF ICCS, AND UNCERTAINTY RE IMPLEMENTATION PARIS AGREEMENTS. WE BELIEVE, DESPITE RECENT DISCUSSIONS AND DECISIONS, SKEPTICISM REGARDING FUTURE OF SOUTH VIETNAM AND CONSTANCY OF US SUPPORT REMAINS. GENERAL ADENAN SAID FOLLOWING MEETINGS, "IT IS NOT EASY FOR US SUDDENLY TO GO FROM AN ATMOSPHERE OF PESSIMISM TO ONE OF OPTIMISM."

4. DISCUSSIONS DID REVEAL THAT DESPITE PESSIMISM AND SOMEWHAT DISTANT RELATIONS BETWEEN JAKARTA AND SAIGON, CONSIDERABLE DESIRE EXISTS FOR ULTIMATE SOUTH VIETNAM VICTORY. GENERAL ADENAN IN COMMENTING ON POSSIBLE REDUCTION OF ICCS CONTINGENT TOLD AMBASSADOR NEWSOM THAT WITHDRAWAL OF SOME ICCS OUTER POSTS COULD HAVE POSITIVE EFFECT OF GIVING FREER HAND TO SOUTH VIETNAM MILITARY OPERATIONS.

5. INDONESIAN MILITARY IS FINDING IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FIND HIGHLY QUALIFIED, ENGLISH SPEAKING OFFICERS FOR ICCS DUTIES. WE LEARNED IN CONVERSATION OVER WEEKEND WITH GENERAL HASNAN HABIB THAT HANKAM HAS NOW SPENT NEARLY ALL FUNDS ALLOTTED TWO YEARS AGO BY MINISTRY FINANCE TO SUPPORT ICCS AND MUST GO BACK TO MINISTRY FOR ADDITIONAL ALLOCATION. GENERAL HASNAN TOLD AMBASSADOR NEWSOM INDONESIA HAD SPENT TO DATE 1.8 BILLION RUPIAHS (4.3 MILLION) TO SUPPORT ITS ICCS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 JAKARTA 00987 240752Z

CONTINGENT; THIS PRESUMABLY INCLUDES CONTRIBUTION TO ICCS BUDGET, TRANSPORTATION AND PER DIEM COSTS. GENERAL HASNAN SAID VERY LITTLE HAD BEEN REIMBURSED TO INDONESIA, IN CONTRAST TO \$1 MILLION SPENT ON UNEF CONTINGENT, 75 PERCENT OF WHICH HAD BEEN REIMBURSED BY UN.

6. POINTS MADE BY AMBASSADOR MARTIN WHICH APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY NOTED BY INDONESIANS WERE:

A. PRESIDENT FORD WILL ASK CONGRESS FOR ADDITIONAL FUNDS IN ORDER TO INSURE ADEQUATE LEVEL OF US SUPPORT FOR SOUTH VIETNAMESE MILITARY EFFORT;

B. RECENT TERRITORIAL LOSSES IN SOUTH VIETNAM WERE PART OF CALCULATED GVN STRATEGY TO PRESENT MAJOR FIGHTING FORCE FOR MORE SIGNIFICANT BATTLES. THIS WAS BOTH MILITARILY SOUND AND PRUDENT DURING PERIOD WHEN DOUBT EXISTED REGARDING RESUPPLY FROM US.

C. SOVIETS AND CHINESE PROBABLY NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT STRENGTH OF HANOI IN REGION AND HAVE, SINCE PARIS AGREEMENTS, REDUCED FLOW OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE. WHILE HANOI HAS PREPOSITIONED SUBSTANTIAL SUPPLIES IN SOUTH, DOUBT REGARDING RESUPPLY MAY LIMIT THEIR ULTIMATE MILITARY GOALS.

D. SITUATION COULD RESULT, IN FEW MONTHS TIME, IN DEESCALATION OF FIGHTING WITH SAIGON HOLDING POPULATED COASTAL AREAS AND COMMUNISTS SPARSELY SETTLED HIGHLANDS. AT SUCH TIME, ROLE OF ICCS WOULD BECOME PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT.

E. PARTICIPATION IS IN INDONESIA'S INTEREST AS REGIONAL POWER.

7. PRIOR TO AMBASSADOR MARTIN'S VISIT, EMBASSY EXAMINED VARIOUS MEASURES WE MIGHT TAKE IN EVENT INDONESIA SEEMED INTENT ON WITHDRAWING FROM ICCS. WE FEEL DECISION THEY HAVE MADE HAS BEEN ON BASIS THEIR OWN INTERESTS AND NO FURTHER SPECIAL MEASURES ON OUR PART REQUIRED AT THIS TIME. NEVERTHELESS, UNEASINESS OVER BURDEN OF ICCS AND SKEPTICISM REGARDING SITUATION IN VIETNAM CONTINUE AND SITUATION COULD CHANGE, PARTICULARLY IF DEVELOPMENTS AS WE ENVISAGE THEM AND AS WE OUTLINED TO THEM THIS WEEKEND DO NOT COME TO PASS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 JAKARTA 00987 240752Z

8. CONVERSATIONS DURING AMBASSADOR MARTIN'S VISIT REINFORCE OUR BELIEF THAT MAINTENANCE OF INDONESIA'S ROLE REQUIRES CONTINUING DIALOGUE, OCCASIONAL SPECIAL EXCHANGES, AND MANIFEST INTEREST IN INDONESIA'S OWN MILITARY DEVELOPMENT. IT CONTINUES TO BE OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE, IF WE WANT INDONESIA HELP IN THIS PROBLEM, THAT WE GIVE FULL CONSIDERATION TO PART INDONESIA IS PLAYING IN VIETNAM AS WE LOOK AT AID LEVELS, AT TIME TABLES FOR PHASE OUTS, AND AT OTHER ACTIONS WHICH THEY MAY CONSIDER ABRUPT OR NEGATIVE. NEWSOM

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